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1989/08/15

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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22622 01 OF 04 150910Z
ACTION H-03

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AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL CHENGDU POUCH

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 04 BEIJING 22622

DEPT PASS NSC DOUG PAAL

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, CH
SUBJECT: SENATOR RUDMAN'S CALL ON NPC CHAIRMAN WAN LI

THE FOLLOWING CABLE WAS CLEARED BY CODEL RUDMAN BEFORE
DEPARTURE FROM SHANGHAI:

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: IN A NINETY-MINUTE MEETING WITH NPC
CHAIRMAN WAN LI ON AUGUST 12, SENATOR RUDMAN EXPRESSED
THE REVULSION THAT THE U.S. PEOPLE AND THE U.S. CONGRESS
FELT TOWARDS THE PRC'S CRUSHING OF THE DEMOCRACY
MOVEMENT IN JUNE. NOTING THAT HE PERSONALLY WAS A
FRIEND OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE, HE STATED THAT THERE WAS A
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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 22622 01 OF 04 150910Z

RESERVOIR OF GOOD WILL TOWARDS CHINA IN THE U.S.; USING

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THIS SENTIMENT AS A BASE, THE TWO SIDES SHOULD WORK
TOGETHER TO REBUILD A RELATIONSHIP THAT WAS IMPORTANT
BOTH BILATERALLY AND GLOBALLY.

3. [REDACTED]

6-1

4. SENATOR RUDMAN CALLED ON WAN LI, CHAIRMAN OF THE
STANDING COMMITTEE OF CHINA'S NATIONAL PEOPLES
CONGRESS, AT THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE ON AUGUST
12. IN ADDITION TO WAN LI, PRC REPRESENTATIVES
INCLUDED CPIFA VICE-PRESIDENT AND MFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR
FOR NORTH AMERICAN AND OCEANIC AFFAIRS ZHA PEIXIN,
NPC DIRECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS SHI GUOBIAO,
AND FORMER AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON CHAI ZEMIN.
AMBASSADOR LILLEY, ECONCOUNS LAROCCHI, AND POLOFF
MORIARTY ACCOMPANIED THE SENATOR.

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PAGE 03 BEIJIN 22622 01 OF 04 1509:02

U.S. CONCERNS

5. SENATOR RUDMAN BEGAN BY NOTING THAT HE HAD HAD A
VERY INTERESTING DISCUSSION OVER LUNCH WITH VICE
FOREIGN MINISTER ZHU QIZHEN (AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE TO
WASHINGTON) WHICH HAD REVEALED A GREAT DIVERGENCE IN
VIEWS OVER WHAT HAD ACTUALLY HAPPENED IN BEIJING IN
JUNE (SEPTEL). THE SENATOR NOTED THAT THE VIEWS OF
THE PRC AND THOSE OF THE U.S. PEOPLE AND CONGRESS ON

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THE MATTER WERE SO WIDELY DIFFERENT THAT DEBATE WOULD BE FUTILE. STILL, HE FELT IT HIS DUTY TO PASS ALONG TO THE CHAIRMAN THE VIEWS OF THE U.S PEOPLE AND CONGRESS ON THE SINO-U.S RELATIONSHIP.

6. SENATOR RUDMAN STATED THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS REALIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP. ALTHOUGH RELATIONS HAD BEEN STRAINED BY THE EVENTS OF JUNE. THERE WAS A BASIC GOOD WILL TOWARDS CHINA. BOTH IN THE U.S. CONGRESS AND AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THAT COULD LAY THE BASE FOR REBUILDING THE RELATIONSHIP. PRESIDENT BUSH WAS ALSO A GOOD FRIEND OF CHINA AND WANTED TO PUT THE RELATIONSHIP BACK ON AN EVEN KEEL IF POSSIBLE.

7. HOWEVER, SENATOR RUDMAN CONTINUED. THERE SHOULD BE NO MISTAKING THE DEPTH OF FEELING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD TOWARDS THE EVENTS OF JUNE. "THE U.S."

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22622 02 OF 04 150910Z
ACTION H-03

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 02 OF 04 BEIJING 22622

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CONGRESS HAD REFLECTED THOSE FEELINGS WHEN THE TWO HOUSES HAD PASSED RESOLUTIONS IN EARLY JULY CALLING FOR ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE PRC. WHILE HE HAD SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND HAD VOTED AGAINST THE RESOLUTION, SENATOR RUDMAN FELT THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITIES BY WHICH THE RESOLUTIONS HAD PASSED REFLECTED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP. THE SENATOR STATED THAT BOTH SIDES HAD TO START ADDRESSING THESE PROBLEMS AT THE MINISTERIAL AND AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL IF THE TWO COUNTRIES WERE TO REBUILD THE RELATIONSHIP.

CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 22622 02 OF 04 150910Z

WAN LI: A LITTLE BIT OF HISTORY

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8. WAN LI THANKED THE SENATOR FOR HIS CONCERN OVER THE HEALTH OF THE SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP, A RELATIONSHIP WHICH THE NPC CHAIRMAN TERMED IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO NATIONS AND OF WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY. BEGINNING A BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF CHINESE HISTORY, WAN LI NOTED THAT FOR MANY CENTURIES THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAD BEEN OPPRESSED BY FEUDALISM AND IMPERIALISM. WHILE SUN YAT-SEN'S REVOLUTION HAD OVERTHROWN THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM, MANY PROBLEMS HAD REMAINED. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA HAD BEEN FOUNDED UNDER MARXIST-LENINIST INFLUENCE. AND AFTER FIFTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE HAD ESTABLISHED THE PRC.

9. CONTINUING, WAN LI CLAIMED THAT THE PRC HAD BEEN FORCED TO FIGHT IN KOREA AND VIETNAM BECAUSE THE WESTERN NATIONS, LED BY THE U.S., HAD NOT BEEN HAPPY WITH THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM THAT HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IN CHINA. BEGINNING IN THE EARLY 1970'S, HOWEVER, FAR-SIGHTED STATESMEN -- NIXON AND KISSINGER ON THE U.S. SIDE AND MAO AND ZHOU ON THE CHINESE SIDE -- HAD REALIZED THE TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD DEVELOP FRIENDLY RELATIONS. SINCE THEN, ALTHOUGH SOME MINOR PROBLEMS HAD ARisen, THE RELATIONSHIP HAD DEVELOPED STEADILY. BASED ON BOTH SIDES ON MUTUAL RESPECT FOR THE THREE COMMUNIQUES.

61

WAN LI: [REDACTED]

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PAGE 03

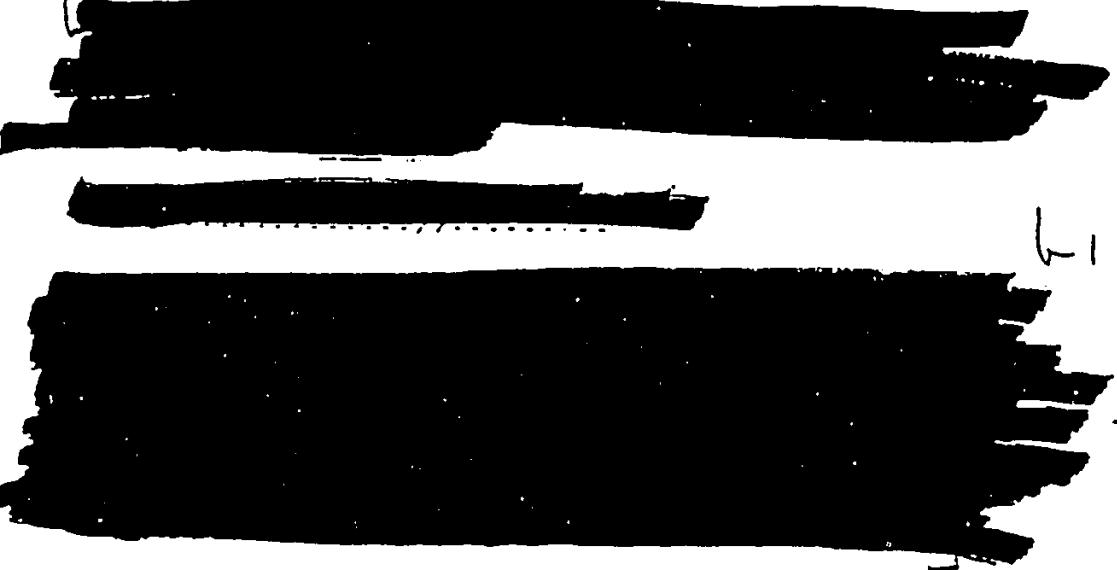
BEIJIN 22522 02 OF 04 150910Z

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CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22622 03 OF 04 150910Z
ACTION H-03

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 04 BEIJING 22622

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CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 02 BEIJIN 22622 03 OF 04 150910Z

CONFIDENTIAL

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WAN LI: THE NEED FOR STABILITY

13. WAN LI NOTED

[REDACTED]

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SENATOR RUDMAN: PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS AND BRUTAL
REPRESSION

14. ALTHOUGH SENATOR RUDMAN AGREED THAT NO COUNTRY
COULD SURVIVE TOTAL CHAOS AND INSTABILITY, HE POINTED
OUT THAT THE U.S. HAD SURVIVED DEMONSTRATIONS IN
FAVOR OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR
THAT WERE PROPORTIONALLY AS LARGE AS, IF NOT LARGER

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PAGE 03 BEIJIN 22622 03 OF 04 150910Z

THAN THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIANANMEN. HE ADDED THAT
U.S. PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED AT TIANANMEN
WERE FORMED NOT SOLELY BY THE MEDIA BUT ALSO BY
CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE U.S., INCLUDING IN HIS HOME
STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. THESE STUDENTS, THE SENATOR
POINTED OUT, WERE NOT HOOLIGANS OR
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES BUT RATHER INTELLIGENT,
PATRIOTIC CHINESE WHO HAD WON THE ADMIRATION OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE.

15. CONTINUING, SENATOR RUDMAN NOTED THAT THE U.S.

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PEOPLE AND CONGRESS HAD NOT SEEN A SMALL BAND OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES IN TIANANMEN BUT RATHER LARGE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS, WORKERS, OFFICE WORKERS, AND EVEN SOME MILITARY PEACEFULLY DEMONSTRATING. THEN, THE SENATOR SAID, WE SAW OVER-REACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE MILITARY BRUTALIZING MANY OF THE DEMONSTRATORS. THE SENATOR EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC WAS USING A PEOPLE'S ARMY TO DO SUCH DEEDS.

16. STILL, THE SENATOR STRESSED, HE CAME IN FRIENDSHIP. HE FELT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE PRC UNDERSTAND THE FEELINGS IN CONGRESS, WITH WHICH PRESIDENT BUSH MUST WORK. THIS, HE HAD COME AT A TIME WHEN MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WISHED TO AVOID CHINA ALTOGETHER. IN CONTRAST, HE FELT THAT IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER TO COME NOW, WHEN THE TWO SIDES WERE TRYING TO REBUILD A RELATIONSHIP THAT WAS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 01 BEIJIN 22622 04 OF 04 150911Z
ACTION H-03

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OF SUCH CRITICAL IMPORTANCE. HE POINTED OUT.
HOWEVER, THAT IF THE RELATIONSHIP WERE TO BE REBUILT,
THE TWO SIDES WOULD HAVE TO WORK TOGETHER; THE PRC
WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT IT WAS SOLELY UP TO
THE U.S. TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE.

WAN LI: [REDACTED] 7 61

17.5 [REDACTED]

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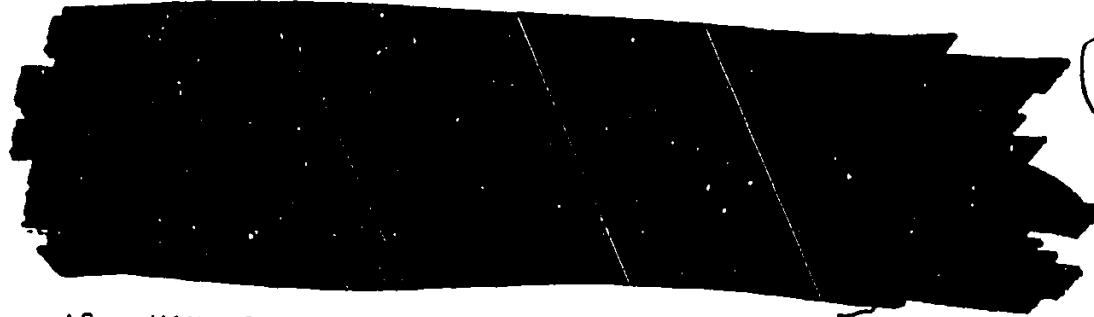
PAGE 02 BEIJIN 22622 04 OF 04 150911Z

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(G-1)



19. WAN LI CLOSED BY ASKING THE SENATOR TO CONVEY HIS GREETINGS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE AND STATED THAT HE HOPE THAT MORE CONGRESSMEN WOULD BE VISITING CHINA IN THE FUTURE.

COMMENT

20. WHILE THE TONE OF THE MEETING WAS AS POLITE AND CORDIAL AS POSSIBLE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PRC'S MESSAGE, CONVEYED BY WAN LI, WAS NOT. THE USG IS SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR AN DETERIORATION IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND IS THUS SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR TAKING THE INITIATIVE TO TRY TO IMPROVE THOSE RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, SENATOR RUDMAN WAS EQUALLY CLEAR IN CONVEYING THE U.S. VIEW OF WHAT HAD ACTUALLY HAPPENED AND OF WHAT MUST BE DONE TO RESTORE THE

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PAGE 03 BEIJIN 22622 04 OF 04 150911Z

EQUILIBRIUM OF THE SINO-U.S. RELATIONSHIP.
LILLEY

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